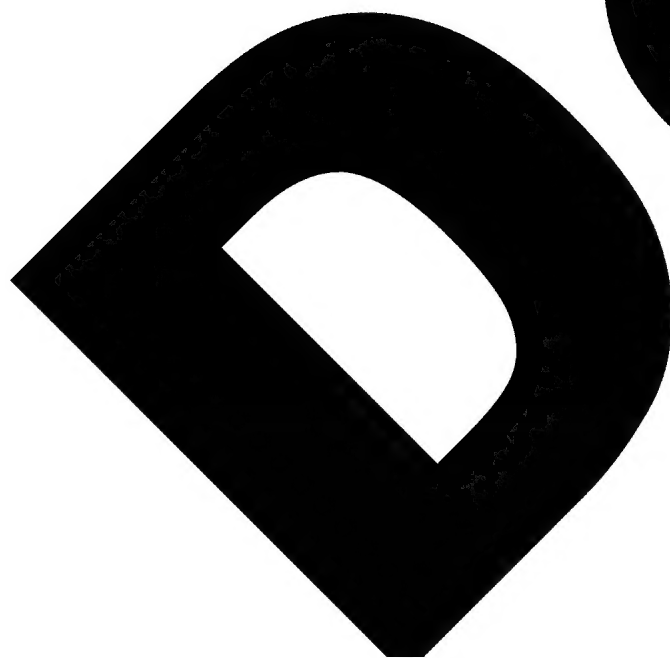


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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
10 December 1971

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

India-Pakistan Ad Hoc Situation Report
(As of 1100 EST)

1. The West Pakistani military command in Dacca has proposed an immediate cease-fire and transfer of power which amounts to capitulation in the east wing.
2. At 0200 EST this morning, General Farmin Ali, senior military representative of President Yahya Khan in East Pakistan, summoned UN Assistant Secretary General Paul Marc Henry, who is currently in Dacca, to his quarters and gave him a message for immediate transmittal to Secretary General Thant. The message had previously been approved by Yahya. Henry has passed the Farmin Ali message to U Thant with the observation that only a Security Council resolution could be binding on both the Pakistanis and the Indians. Henry informed the British, French, Soviet, and US diplomats in Dacca of his and Ali's actions. He was unable to contact the Chinese.
3. Farmin Ali proposes an immediate transfer of power to "the elected representatives of East Pakistan"--an apparent reference to those elected from the province in the national elections of December 1970, many of whom subsequently were declared ineligible to serve in the yet-to-be-convened assembly. The leaders of this group, all of whom were members of the proscribed Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, are the members of the government of Bangla Desh which until recently has operated from Indian soil. In effect,

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the government in Islamabad has accepted the rule of the Awami League in East Pakistan and, presumably, the independence of Bangla Desh.

4. The rest of Farmin Ali's message deals with the cease-fire and the future of the West Pakistani armed forces and their supporters in East Pakistan. He calls for the repatriation of the armed forces to West Pakistan and of all West Pakistani personnel desiring to return to the west wing. Farmin Ali asks that India and its Mukti Bahini allies provide "zones of regrouping" where the armed forces and civilians wishing to be repatriated can gather in East Pakistan. As for the Biharis, the minority of 1.5 million non-Bengali-speaking Muslims who have sided with the west, and others in East Pakistan who are now tarred by association with the west, Farmin Ali asks only that their safety from reprisals be guaranteed. Presumably, however, if the offer of repatriation were made to these people, most would also choose to go to the safety of West Pakistan.

5. The proposals would grant to the Indians nearly all that they have publicly demanded--a political settlement with the elected representatives of East Pakistan and removal of Pakistan's armed forces from the east wing. The one remaining unsatisfied demand of both the Indians and the government of Bangla Desh is the freedom of Mujib who is currently jailed in West Pakistan. The release of the Bengali leader does not appear an insuperable barrier to agreement. The Pakistani proposal also appears to meet all Soviet demands for accepting a cease-fire, as outlined by the Soviet delegate to the Security Council earlier this week.

6. Many questions remain, and difficult problems--particularly in connection with procedures for repatriation--must be solved if Farmin Ali's proposals are to be implemented. They do, nevertheless, appear to provide a means to end the hostilities in the east. Should India reject the proposals, Farmin Ali has made it

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[REDACTED]

clear, and Henry accepts as likely, that the Pakistani troops are prepared to fight to the bitter end in Dacca and in other pockets of resistance throughout East Pakistan. Unless the Indians' war aims have expanded to include seizure of territory in the west and/or the total destruction of Pakistan's ability to wage war [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] it would appear that this formula could also open the way to peace to the entire subcontinent.

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